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THE

Destruction of Republicanism

THE

OBJECT OF THE REBELLION.

THE TESTIMONY OF SOUTHERN WITNESSES.

By LORING MOODY.

SECOND EDITION.

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1863.

Despotism hates Freedom with "a perfect hatred," and has so hunted her down that she has never yet found a perfect resting-place for the sole of her foot on this planet. Moreover it has no faith in the people. Its servants have always despised and hated the people, especially the working people.

Now the leaders of this Rebellion are the sworn servants of Despotism. Their open avowals and declarations during the last thirty years, show clearly enough that they are aiming to disfranchise and degrade the great mass of the people to absolute slavery, without regard to color or race. They tell us plainly that they never mean to stop in their wicked career until "the capitalists own the laborers," whether "white or black!" And already they tell us that "slavery has become the 'chief head of the corner' in their new edifice!"

The design of this work is to show, from the testimony of the prime movers and leaders in this Rebellion, and those in sympathy with them, that this is an open and undisguised conflict between the opposing principles of Freedom and Despotism; that the leaders of the rebellion are fighting to break down and destroy the government of Freedom which our Fathers founded, and to establish a despotic, slaveholding aristocracy on its ruins.

Let every one then read and ponder the declarations of these men.

We will go back more than thirty years, and begin with the testimony of

B. WATKINS LEIGH, (Va.)

"In every civilized country under the sun, some there must be who labor for their daily bread,—men who tend the herds, and dig the soil,—who have no real nor personal capital of their own, and who earn their daily bread by the sweat of their brow. I have as sincere feelings of regard for that people as any man who lives among them. But I ask gentlemen to say, whether they believe that those who depend on their daily labor for their daily subsistence, can, or do, ever enter into political affairs? They never do, never will, never can."—*Speech in Virginia Convention, 1829.*

CHANCELLOR HARPER, (S. C.)

"Would you do a benefit to the horse, or the ox, by giving him a cultivated understanding, a fine feeling? So far as the mere laborer has the pride, the knowledge, or the aspiration of a freeman, he is unfitted for his situation. If there are sordid, servile, laborious offices to be performed, is it not better that there should be sordid, servile, laborious beings to perform them? Odium has been cast upon our legislation on account of its forbidding the elements of education being communicated to slaves. But, in truth,

what injury is done them by this? *He who works during the day with his hands does not read in the intervals of leisure, for his amusement, or the improvement of his mind; or the exception is so very rare as scarcely to need the being provided for.*—*Southern Literary Messenger.*

GEORGE M'DUFFIE.

"If we look into the elements of which all political communities are composed, it will be found that servitude in some form is one of the essential constituents. . . . In the very nature of things, there must be classes of persons to discharge all the different offices of society, from the highest to the lowest. . . . *Where these offices are performed by members of the political community, a dangerous element is obviously introduced by the body politic. . . . Domestic slavery, therefore, instead of being an evil, is the CORNER-STONE OF OUR REPUBLICAN EDIFICE.*"—*Message to S. C. Legislature, 1835.*

JOHN C. CALHOUN.

"We regard slavery as the most safe and stable basis for *free institutions* in the world. It is impossible with us that the conflict should take place between labor and capital. Every plantation is a little community, with the master at its head, who concentrates in himself the united interests of capital and labor, of which he is the common representative."

F. W. PICKENS, (S. C.)

"All society settles down into a classification of capitalists and laborers. The former will own the latter, either collectively through the government, or individually in a state of domestic servitude, as exists in the Southern States of this confederacy. *If laborers ever obtain the political power of a country, it is in fact in a state of revolution.*"

"Hence it is, that they must have a strong federal government to *control the labor* of the nation. But it is precisely the reverse with us. We have already not only a right to the *proceeds* of our laborers, but *we own a class of laborers themselves.* But, let me say to gentlemen who represent the great class of capitalists at the North, beware how you drive us into a separate system, for, if you do, as certain as the decrees of Heaven, you will be compelled to appeal to the sword to maintain yourselves at home. It may not come in your day; *but your children's children will be covered with the blood of domestic factions, and a PLUNDERING MOB contending for power and conquest.*"—*Speech in Congress, January 21, 1837.*

Here we have the testimony of five prominent Southern statesmen, some of which has been on record more than thirty years, bearing directly on this point. And it will be observed that not one of them makes any allusion whatever to *color* or *race*; but slaves and laborers are spoken of as belonging to the same class, and holding the same relations to society. And both are doomed to the same state of civil and social debasement, so as to form what another slaveholding statesman has spoken of, in language of genuine "Southern elegance" as "the MUDSILLS of society."

Following the lead of these statesmen, the press began to reiterate these anti-republican sentiments, with much more boldness and even arrogance. It no longer deprecated the existence of slavery as an "evil," but assumed the ground of its inherent rightfulness, and undertook its defence accordingly. During the Kansas controversy, the following sentiments were boldly proclaimed by the "*Richmond Enquirer*":—

"The South once thought her own institutions wrongful and inexpedient. *It thinks so no longer*, and will insist that they shall be protected and extended by the arm of the Federal government, equally with the institutions of the North."

Again it says:—

"Repeatedly have we asked the North, 'has not the experiment of universal liberty failed? Are not the evils of free society insufferable? And do not most thinking men among you propose to *subvert and reconstruct it*?' Still no answer. This gloomy silence is another conclusive proof, added to many other conclusive evidences we have furnished, that *free society*, in the long run, is an *impracticable* form of society. It is everywhere, starving, demoralized and insurrectionary. We repeat, then, that policy and humanity alike forbid the extension of the evils of free society to new people and coming generations."

The following plain speaking on this point is from the "*Richmond Examiner*":—

"Until recently the defence of slavery has labored under great difficulties, because its apologists took half-way ground. They confined the defence of slavery to mere *negro slavery*; thereby giving up the slavery *principle*, admitting other forms of slavery to be *wrong*. The line of defence, however, is now changed. The South maintains that slavery is *right, natural and necessary*, and does not depend upon *difference of complexion*. The laws of the slave States justify the holding of WHITE MEN in bondage."

And still more blunt and downright is the following from the "*Charleston Mercury*":—

"Slavery is the natural and normal condition of the laboring man, whether WHITE or BLACK."

DESPOTISM OPPOSED TO EDUCATION.

As learning is the friend of Freedom and the foe of Tyranny, the despotic SLAVE POWER *not only* "*forbids* the elements of education being communicated to slaves," but *arrays itself in deadly hostility to the cause of education among the people generally*.

It utters its maledictions against the New England common school system, after this sort, through one of its organs, the "*Richmond Examiner*," Dec. 28, 1855 :—

"We have got to hating every thing with the prefix *free*—from free negroes down and up, through the whole catalogue of abominations, demagogueries, lusts, philosophies, fanaticism, and follies, free farms, free labor, free niggers, free society, free will, free thinking, free love, free wives, free children, and free schools, all belonging to the same brood of damnable isms, whose mother is Sin and whose daddy is the Devil.

"But the worst of all these abominations—because, when once installed, it becomes the hot-bed propagator of all—is the modern system of free schools. We forget who it is that has charged and proved that the New England system of free schools has been the cause and prolific source of all the legions of horrible infidelities and treasons that have turned her cities into Sodoms and Gomorrahs, and her fair land into the common nestling-place of howling bedlamites. We abominate the system *because* the schools are *free*, and because there ought to be no *mob* road to learning."

The unequivocal utterances of the Southern press, of which the above extracts are only a few samples from a large stock, plainly foreshadow the ultimate designs of the leaders and movers of the Rebellion. "*Slavery is the natural condition of the laboring man.*" "The laws of the slave States justify the holding of *white men* in bondage."

Who are "laboring men"? The millions in the North and elsewhere, whose *work* fills our granaries and warehouses, freights our ships with its inestimable products, beautifies and adorns the earth, and surrounds us with material and even spiritual blessings.

That these infamous doctrines and practices have brought forth their legitimate fruits, is seen in the astounding fact that there are *seventy-five thousand free white adult men and women* in Virginia, unable to read or write. Nor is this state of things confined to Virginia, as will be shown by the following extract from the Georgia "*Federal Union*."

"A generous patriotism is startled by the fact as it stood in 1840 : upward of 30,000 free white grown-up citizens in Georgia unable to read or write a word of their mother tongue! Ten years roll by, 1850 comes, and the number in that short time has swollen to 41,000! Many have looked with anxiety at these figures (and surely not without the best of reasons) who have not noticed the most distressing feature of the case. We refer to the rapidity with which the number of entirely uneducated freemen in Georgia increases. *It increases more rapidly than the entire*

population does. By reference to the last census, it will be seen that between 1840 and 1850 the rate of increase of the entire white population was a little under 28 per cent. During the same time the rate of increase of the number of adult citizens in the State unable to read or write was over 34½ per cent. It is only by distinctly observing this rapid increase that we see the facts in their appalling magnitude. This vast army of forty-one thousand *will be more than doubled in thirty years!* At the rate of the increase shown by the census, it will have within its ranks in the year 1900, *one hundred and seventy thousand* of the citizens of Georgia."

Having taken away the key of knowledge from the laborers in their midst, and surrounded them with the thick clouds of darkness and ignorance, the Southern despots commenced the process of "subjugating" the people of the North by arrogant assumptions of superiority in their daily intercourse, and even in the halls of Congress. That the inevitable tendencies of the slave system were such as to create a desire for universal domination over all within reach of its influence was clearly foreseen and stated by Jefferson and others. "An evil tree cannot bring forth good fruit;" and this accursed "UPAS" has brought forth its ripened products.

In a letter of Thomas Jefferson to M. Warville, Paris, Feb. 1788, speaking of the intercourse between master and slave, he says :—

"The parent storms, the child looks on, catches the lineaments of wrath, puts on the same airs in the circle of smaller slaves, GIVES LOOSE TO HIS WORST PASSIONS; and, thus *nursed, educated, and daily exercised in tyranny*, cannot but be stamped by it with odious peculiarities."

Hon. Lewis Summers, Judge of the General Court of Virginia, and a slaveholder, said, in a speech before the Virginia Legislature, in 1832 (see "*Richmond Whig*," Jan. 26, 1832) :—

"A slave population exercises the *most pernicious influence* upon the manners, habits, and character of those among whom it exists. *Lisping infancy* learns the vocabulary of abusive epithets, and struts the *embryo tyrant* of its little domain. The consciousness of *superior destiny* takes possession of his mind at its earliest dawning, and *love of power and rule* 'grows with his growth and strengthens with his strength.' Unless enabled to rise above the operation of those powerful causes, *he enters the world with miserable notions of self-importance, and under the government of an UNBRIDLED TEMPER.*"

Few, indeed, have been "enabled to rise above the operation of these powerful causes." And accordingly we find that not

only the slaveholders, but the great mass of "poor white trash" associated with them, have "entered the world with miserable notions of *self-importance*, and under the government of an *unbridled temper*," the "odious peculiarities" of which have manifested themselves under every trifling pretext.

Says the "*Richmond Enquirer*":—

"The relations between the North and South are very analogous to those which subsisted between Greece and the Roman empire after the subjugation of Achaia by the consul Mummius. The dignity and energy of the Roman character, conspicuous in war and in politics, were not easily tamed and adjusted to the arts of industry and literature. The degenerate and pliant Greeks, on the contrary, excelled in the handicraft and polite professions. We learn, from the vigorous invectives of Juvenal, that they were the most useful and capable of servants, whether as pimps or professors of rhetoric. Obsequious, dexterous, and ready, the versatile Greeks monopolized the business of teaching, publishing, and manufacturing in the Roman Empire—allowing their masters ample leisure for the service of the State, in the senate or in the field. The people of the Northern States of this confederacy exhibit the same aptitude for the arts of industry. They excel as clerks, mechanics, and tradesmen, and they have monopolized the business of teaching, publishing, and peddling."

The same paper, in its issue of June 2, 1856, holds the following language, in reference to the murderous assault of Preston S. Brooks upon the Hon. Charles Sumner:—

"In the main, the press of the South applaud the conduct of Mr. Brooks, without condition or limitation. Our approbation at least is entire and unreserved. We consider the act good in conception, better in execution, and best of all in consequences. These vulgar abolitionists in the Senate are *getting above themselves*. They have been humored until they forget their position. They have grown *saucy*, and *dare to be impudent to gentlemen*. Now they are a low, mean, scurvy set, with some little book learning, but as utterly devoid of spirit and honor as a pack of curs. Intrenched behind 'privilege,' they fancy they can slander the South and its representatives with impunity.

"The truth is, they have been suffered to run too long without *collars*. They must be *lashed into submission*. Sumner, in particular, ought to have nine-and-thirty early every morning. He is a great strapping fellow, and could stand the *cowhide* beautifully. Brooks frightened him, and, at the first blow of the *cane*, he bellowed like a bull-calf.

"There is the blackguard Wilson, an ignorant Natick cobbler, swaggering in excess of muscle, and absolutely dying for a beating. Will not somebody take him in hand? Hale is another huge, red-faced, sweating scoundrel, whom some gentleman should *kick* and *cuff* until he abates something of his impudent talk.

"We trust other gentlemen will follow the example of Mr. Brooks, that so a curb may be imposed upon the truculence and audacity of abolition speakers. If need be, let us have a *canning* or *cowhiding* every day. If the worst comes to the worst, so much the sooner, so much the better."

Says the "*Muscogee Herald*," (Ala.) :—

"'Free Society!' We sicken at the name. What is it but a conglomeration of *greasy mechanics, filthy operatives, small-fisted farmers* and moonstruck *theorists*? All the Northern and especially the New England States, are devoid of society fitted for *well-bred gentlemen*. The prevailing class one meets with, is that of mechanics, struggling to be genteel, and small farmers, who do their own drudgery, and yet who are hardly fit for association with a Southern gentleman's body servant."

When these mechanics lose all self-respect, cease "struggling," and, sinking down into a state of utter hopelessness, fall under the task-master's lash; and when these "small farmers," doomed to the same degraded condition, shall do the "drudgery" of genteel "*masters*" instead of "their own," they will be, in the estimation of these despotic traitors, in their proper places.

Following these arrogant assumptions of superiority, Southern politicians began to utter terrible threats of disunion and destruction to the whole country, unless every one of their desires and schemes, no matter how tyrannical and devilish, were at once gratified and carried out with alacrity by the North. The South would accept nothing that savored of halting or hesitation. The North must bow down and serve it with "all its might and soul and strength."

The nomination of Fremont for president in 1856 was made the pretext for renewing with increased vigor the agitation of the project of the dissolution of the Union, which for thirty years had been the ultimate design of the Southern politicians. From 1856 to 1860 it was discussed, and its purpose avowed with great freedom and boldness throughout the South and even in the halls of Congress. The following statements and declarations of Southern statesmen and politicians, clearly indicate the objects and designs of the leaders of the Rebellion. The reader will observe that they all have the merit of clearness of statement, and directness of purpose. "Drive the 'black Republican' out of the Temple of Liberty," exclaims Mr. Toombs, "or pull down its pillars and involve him in a common ruin!"

It will also be noticed that, in order to carry out their plots with greater certainty of success, the conspirators had chosen to accomplish their wicked designs in the names of "*Liberty*" and "*Democracy*." They knew well the force of names, and, that "a lie shall keep its throne a whole age longer if it skulk behind the shelter of some fair seeming name." So they assumed those

names and ideas dearest to the people as the surest and readiest way to lead them blindfolded to their ruin. And so "Democratic" statesmen and "Democratic" editors talked loudly of *Liberty*, sung the praises of LIBERTY, shouted the sacred name of LIBERTY, while they strangled her within her very sanctuary. Mr. Butler, of South Carolina, a leading member of the U. S. Senate, and chairman of the Judiciary Committee in 1856, said:—

"When Fremont is elected, we must rely upon what we have—a good State Government. Every Governor of the South should call the Legislature of his State together, and have measures of the South decided upon. *If they did not, and submit to the degradation, they would deserve the fate of slaves. I should advise my Legislature to go at the top of the drum.*"

Mr. Keitt, of South Carolina, made a fiery speech at Lynchburgh, Va., in 1856, and in view of the apprehended election of Col. Fremont, exclaimed:—

"I tell you now, that if Fremont is elected, *adherence to the Union is treason to liberty.* [Loud cheers.] I tell you now, that the Southern man who will submit to his election is a *traitor and a coward.*" [Enthusiastic cheers.]

This speech was indorsed as "sound doctrine" by the Hon. John B. Floyd, of Virginia, Mr. Buchanan's Secretary of War.

For his attempted (and nearly successful) assassination of Senator Sumner, Mr. Preston S. Brooks was complimented by an ovation at the hands of his constituents, at which Senators Butler, of South Carolina, and Toombs, of Georgia, assisted. The hero of the day, Mr. Brooks, made a speech on the occasion, from which the following is an extract:—

"We have the issue upon us now; and how are we to meet it? I tell you, fellow citizens, from the bottom of my heart, that the only mode which I think available for meeting it, *is just to tear the Constitution of the United States, trample it under foot, and form a Southern Confederacy, every State of which will be a slaveholding State.* [Loud and prolonged cheers.] I believe it, as I stand in the face of my Maker; I believe it on my responsibility to you as your honored representative, that *the only hope of the South is in the South, and that the only available means of making that hope effective is to cut asunder the bonds that tie us together, and take our separate position in the family of nations.* These are my opinions. They have always been my opinions. *I have been a disunionist from the time I could think.* * * * * *

"Now, fellow citizens, I have told you very frankly and undisguisedly, that I believe *the only hope of the South is in dissolving the bonds which connect us with the Government—in separating the living body from the dead carcass.* If I was the commander of an army, *I never would post a sentinel who would not swear that slavery is right.* * * * * *

"I speak on my individual responsibility: *If Fremont be elected President of the United States, I am for the people in their majesty rising above the law and leaders, taking the power in their own hands, going by concert or not by concert, and laying the strong arm of Southern freemen upon the treasury and archives of the Government.*" [Applause.]

The Charleston "*Mercury*," the recognized organ of the South Carolina Democracy, says:—

"*Upon the policy of dissolving the Union, of separating the South from her Northern enemies, and establishing a Southern Confederacy, parties, presses, politicians, and people, are a unit. There is not a single public man in her limits, not one of her present Representatives or Senators in Congress, who is not pledged to the lips in favor of disunion. Indeed, we well remember that one of the most prominent leaders of the co-operation party, when taunted with submission, rebuked the thought by saying, 'that in opposing secession, he only took a step backward to strike a blow more deadly against the Union.'*"

In the autumn of 1856, Henry A. Wise, then Governor of Virginia, told the people of that State that

"The South could not, without degradation, submit to the election of a Black Republican President. To tell me we should submit to the election of a Black Republican, under circumstances like these, is to tell me that Virginia and the fourteen slave States are already subjugated and degraded [cheers]; that the Southern people are without spirit, and without purpose to defend the rights they know and dare not maintain. [Cheers.] If you submit to the election of Fremont, you will prove what Seward and Burlingame said to be true—that the South cannot be kicked out of the Union."

During the presidential campaign of 1856, the Washington correspondent of the "*New Orleans Delta*," wrote:—

"It is already arranged, in the event of Fremont's election, or a failure to elect by the people, to call the legislatures of Virginia, South Carolina and Georgia to concert measures to withdraw from the Union before Fremont can get possession of the army and navy, and the purse-strings of government. *Governor Wise is actively at work already in the matter. The South can rely on the President in the emergency contemplated. The question now is, whether the people of the South will sustain their leaders.*"

At a Union meeting held at Knoxville, Tenn., Judge Daily, formerly of Georgia, made a violent Southern speech, in the course of which he said:—

"During the Presidential contest, Governor Wise had addressed letters to all the Southern governors, and that *the one to the Governor of Florida had been shown him, in which Governor Wise said he had an army in readiness to prevent Fremont from taking his seat, if elected, and asking the coöperation of those to whom he wrote.*"

Here we see that Governor Wise declared that he had an army in readiness to overthrow the government of 1856; and by the

following it is shown that he relied upon seizing the United States arsenal at Harper's Ferry, for arming his army—thus proposing to do the same thing which John Brown was hung for doing two years later.

Charles J. Faulkner, formerly a Representative in Congress from Virginia, Chairman of the Democratic Congressional Committee, in 1856, at a Democratic meeting held in Virginia, over which he presided, said :—

“When that noble and gallant son of Virginia, Henry A. Wise, declared, as was said he did in October, 1856, that if Fremont should be elected, HE WOULD SEIZE THE NATIONAL ARSENAL AT HARPER'S FERRY, how few would, at that time, have justified so bold and decided a measure? *It is the fortune of some great and gifted minds to see far in advance of their contemporaries.* Should William H. Seward be elected in 1860, where is the man now in our midst, *who would not call for the impeachment of a Governor of Virginia who would silently suffer that armory to pass under the control of such an Executive head?*”

The “*Richmond Enquirer*,” long one of the leading exponents of the Southern Democracy, in commenting on the murderous assault on Senator Sumner, said :—

“Sumner and Sumner's friends, must be punished and silenced. Either such wretches must be hung or put in the penitentiary, or the South should prepare at once to quit the Union.

“Let the South present a compact and undivided front. Let her, if possible, detach Pennsylvania and southern Ohio, southern Indiana, and southern Illinois from the North, and make the highlands between the Ohio and the lakes the dividing line. Let the South treat with California ; and, if necessary, ally herself with Russia, with Cuba, and Brazil.”

Senator Iverson, of Georgia, in a speech made to his constituents previous to the assembling of the second session of the 36th Congress, said :—

“Slavery must be maintained—in the Union, if possible ; out of it, if necessary ; peaceably, if we may, forcibly, if we must. * * *

“In a confederated government of their own, the Southern States would enjoy sources of wealth, prosperity, and power, unsurpassed by any nation on earth. No neutrality laws would restrain our adventurous sons. Our expanding policy would stretch far beyond present limits. Central America would join her destiny to ours, and so would Cuba, now withheld from us by the voice and votes of abolition enemies.”

In an elaborate speech in the Senate, the same Senator said :—

“Sir, there is but one path of safety to the South ; but one mode of preserving her institution of domestic slavery ; and that is a confederacy of States having no incongruous and opposing elements—a confederacy of slave States alone, with homogeneous language, laws, interests, and institutions. Under such a confederated Republic, with a Constitution which

should shut out the approach and entrance of all incongruous and conflicting elements, which should protect the institution from change, and keep the whole nation ever bound to its preservation, by an unchangeable fundamental law, the fifteen slave States, with their power of expansion, would present to the world the most free, prosperous, and happy nation on the face of the wide earth."

Senator Brown, of Mississippi, in a recent speech to his constituents, said :—

*"I want Cuba; I want Tamaulipas, Potosi, and one or two other Mexican States; and I want them all for the same reason—for the planting and spreading of slavery. And a footing in Central America will powerfully aid us in acquiring those other States. Yes; I want these countries for the spread of slavery. I would spread the blessings of slavery, like the religion of our Divine Master, to the uttermost ends of the earth; and, rebellious and wicked as the Yankees have been, I would even extend it to them. * **

*"Whether we can obtain the territory while the Union lasts, I do not know; I fear we cannot. But I would make an honest effort, and if we failed, I would go out of the Union, and try it there. I speak plainly—I would make a refusal to acquire territory because it was to be slave territory, a cause of disunion, just as I would make the refusal to admit a new State, because it was to be a slave State, a cause for disunion." * **

Hon. Robert Toombs, of Georgia, made a violent speech in the Senate, January, 1860, in which he said :—

"Never permit this Federal Government to pass into the traitorous hands of the Black Republican party. It has already declared war against you and your institutions. It every day commits acts of war against you; it has already compelled you to arm for your defence. Listen to 'no vain babblings,' to no treacherous jargon about 'overt acts;' they have already been committed. Defend yourselves; the enemy is at your door; wait not to meet him at the hearthstone,—meet him at the door-sill, and drive him from the temple of liberty, or pull down its pillars and involve him in a common ruin."

Mr. Clingman, of North Carolina, in a speech in relation to the proper causes for disunion, said :—

*"In my judgment, the election of the presidential candidate of the Black Republican party will furnish that cause. * * * * **

*"No other 'overt act' can so imperatively demand resistance on our part as the simple election of their candidate. Their organization is one of avowed hostility, and they come against us as enemies." * * **

These numerous propositions and threats of disunion and war were only the outcroppings of deep laid plots, ramifying through every department of the government and involving men high in office, from the heads of departments downwards. They were the utterances of men of aristocratic tendencies, whose haughty

spirits fretted at being compelled to stand up on the comparative level of democratic ideas and institutions. They had morbid cravings for an aristocratic form of government, with its orders of nobility, and hereditary titles and distinctions, which should lift them above and separate them forever from the great mass of the people. These they would keep in a state of brutish ignorance, so that, while toiling to support their lords, they would look up to them, as the dull ox looks to his master, as superior beings on whom they were dependent for food, shelter and protection.

Had these plotters of Treason and Rebellion, any real grounds of complaint against the government? It is well known that Alexander H. Stephens was strongly opposed to Secession, and breasted the current to the last. The following extracts from a speech delivered by him in the Georgia Convention in January, 1861, give some of his reasons for opposing Secession, and at the same time furnish an answer to the above inquiry :

“What right has the North assailed? What interest of the South has been invaded? What justice has been denied? and what claim founded in justice and right has been withheld? Can either of you to-day name one governmental act of wrong, deliberately and purposely done by the government of Washington, of which the South has a right to complain? I challenge the answer! While on the other hand, let me show the facts, of which I wish you to judge, and I will only state facts which are clear and undeniable, and which now stand as records authentic in the history of our country.

“When we of the South demanded the slave trade, or the importation of Africans for the cultivation of our lands, did they not yield the right for twenty years? When we asked a three-fifths representation in Congress for our slaves, was it not granted? When we asked and demanded the return of any fugitive from justice, or the recovery of those persons owing labor or allegiance, was it not incorporated in the Constitution? and again ratified and strengthened in the Fugitive Slave Law of 1850?

“But do you reply, that in many instances they have violated this compact, and have not been faithful to their engagements? As individuals and local communities they may have done so; but not by the sanction of government; for that has always been true to Southern interests. Again, gentlemen, look at another fact: when we have asked that more territory should be added, that we might spread the institution of slavery, have they not yielded to our demands in giving us Louisiana, Florida and Texas?

“But, again, gentlemen, what have we to gain by this proposed change of our relation to the general government? We have always had the control of it, and can yet, if we remain in it, and are as united as we have been. We have had a majority of the Presidents chosen from the South; as well as the control and management of most of those chosen from the North. We have had sixty years of Southern Presidents to their twenty-

four, thus controlling the Executive department. So of the judges of the Supreme Court, we have had eighteen from the South, and but eleven from the North; although nearly four-fifths of the judicial business has arisen in the Free States, yet a majority of the Court has always been from the South. This we have required so as to guard against any interpretation of the Constitution unfavorable to us. In like manner we have been equally watchful to guard our interests in the Legislative branch of government. In choosing the presiding Presidents (*pro tem.*) of the Senate, we have had twenty-four to their eleven. Speakers of the House, we have had twenty-three, and they twelve. While the majority of the Representatives, from their greater population, have always been from the North, yet we have so generally secured the Speaker, because he, to a great extent, shapes and controls the legislation of the country. Nor have we had less control in every other department of the general government. Attorney-Generals we have had fourteen, while the North have had but five. Foreign ministers we have had eighty-six, and they but fifty-four. While three-fourths of the business which demands diplomatic agents abroad is clearly from the Free States, from their greater commercial interests, yet we have had the principal embassies, so as to secure the world markets for our cotton, tobacco and sugar on the best possible terms. We have had a vast majority of the higher offices of both army and navy, while a larger proportion of the soldiers and sailors were drawn from the North. Equally so of Clerks, Auditors and Comptrollers filling the Executive department; the records show for the last fifty years, that of the three thousand thus employed, we have had more than two-thirds of the same, while we have but one-third of the white population of the Republic.

"Again, look at another item. From official documents, we learn that a fraction over three-fourths of the revenue collected for the support of government, has uniformly been raised from the North.

"Leaving out of view, for the present, the countless millions of dollars you must expend in a war with the North; with tens of thousands of your sons and brothers slain in battle, and offered up as sacrifices upon the altar of your ambition,—and for what, we ask again? Is it for the overthrow of the American government, established by our common ancestry, cemented and built up by their sweat and blood, and founded on the broad principles of *Right, Justice, and Humanity*? And, as such, I must declare here, as I have often done before, and which has been repeated by the greatest and wisest of statesmen and patriots in this and other lands, that *it is the best and freest government—the most equal in its rights—the most just in its decisions—the most lenient in its measures, and the most inspiring in its principles to elevate the race of men, that the sun of heaven ever shone upon.*

"Now, for you to attempt to overthrow such a government as this, is the height of madness, folly and wickedness, to which I can neither lend my sanction nor my vote."

But reason was dethroned in the rebel councils; and Mr. Stephens, overwhelmed by the irresistible tide of treason, accepted the Vice-Presidency of the Slave Confederacy; and then in the spring of the same year—1861—made another speech at Savannah, Ga., in which he explains the distinctive feature of his new Government as follows:—

"The new constitution has put at rest forever, all the agitating questions relating to our peculiar institutions—African slavery as it exists among us—the proper status of the negro in our form of civilization. This was the immediate cause of the late rupture, and present revolution. Jefferson in his forecast had anticipated this as the 'rock on which the old Union would split.' * * But whether he fully comprehended the great truth upon which that rock stood, and stands, may be doubted. The prevailing ideas entertained by him and most of the leading statesmen at the time of the formation of the old Constitution were, that the enslavement of the African was in violation of the laws of nature. That it was wrong in principle, socially, morally, and politically. It was an evil they knew not well how to deal with, but the general opinion of the men of that day was, that somehow or other, in the order of Providence, the institution would be evanescent and pass away. This idea though not incorporated in the Constitution, was the prevailing idea at that time. Those ideas, however, were fundamentally wrong. They rested upon the assumption of the equality of races. This was an error. It was a sandy foundation; and the idea of a government built upon it; when the storm came and the wind blew it fell.

"Our new government is founded upon exactly the opposite idea; its foundations are laid, its corner-stone rests, upon the great truth that the negro is not equal to the white man—that slavery, subordination to the superior race, is his natural and normal condition.

"This stone, which was rejected by the first builders, 'is become the chief head of the corner' in our new edifice."

The full significance of this language may be learned by referring back to the extract from the "*Charleston Mercury*," which declares in the precise words of Mr. Stephens, that "*Slavery 'is the natural and normal condition' of the laboring man whether white or black.*"

In an elaborate address of Hon. L. W. Spratt, of South Carolina, to the confederate congress, at Montgomery, in 1861, in which he insists, that the enslavement of at least one-half of the population of any State is absolutely essential to its stability and safety, occur the following among many similar passages:—

"The South is now in the formation of a *slave* republic. This, perhaps, is not admitted generally. There are many contented to believe that the South as a mere geographical section, is in mere assertion of its independence; that it is instinct with no especial truth—pregnant of no distinct social nature; that for some unaccountable reason the two sections have become opposed to each other; that for reasons equally insufficient, there is disagreement between the peoples that direct them; and that from no overruling necessity, no impossibility of coexistence, but as mere matter of policy, it has been considered best for the South to strike out for herself, and establish an independence of her own. This I fear is an inadequate conception of the controversy.

"The contest is not between the North and South as geographical sections, for between such sections merely, there can be no contest; nor between the people of the North and the people of the South, for our relations have been pleasant, and on neutral grounds there is still nothing to estrange us."

* * * "But the real contest lies between the two forms of society which have become established, the one at the North and the other at the South."

* * "Society is essentially different from government." * * "And

within this government, two societies had become developed, as variant in structure and distinct in form as any two beings in animated nature. * *

The one is bound together by the two great social relations of husband and wife, and parent and child; the other by the three relations of husband and wife, and parent and child, and master and slave. The one embodies in its political structure the principle that equality is the right of man; the other that it is the right of equals only. The one embodying the principle that equality is the right of man, expands upon the horizontal plane of a pure democracy; the other embodying the principle that it is not the right of man, but of equals only, has taken to itself the rounded form of a social aristocracy." * * * *

"In the one, therefore, the reins of government come from the heels, in the other, from the head of the society. In the one it is guided by the worst, in the other by the best intelligence."

* * * * "In the one, the pauper laborer has the power to rise and appropriate by law, the goods protected by the State—when pressure comes, as come it must, there will be the motive to exert it—and thus the ship of State turns bottom upwards. In the other, there is no pauper labor with the power of rising; the ship of State has the ballast of a disfranchised class; there is no possibility of a political upheaval, therefore, and it is reasonably certain, that so steadied, it will sail erect and onward to an indefinitely distant period." * * * *

"Such are the two forms of society which had come to contest within the structure of the recent Union, and the contest for existence was inevitable. Neither could concur in the requisitions of the other." * * *

"Like an eagle and a fish joined together by an indissoluble bond, * * where the eagle could not share the fluid suited to the fish and live, where the fish could not share the fluid suited to the bird and live, and where one must perish that the other may survive, unless the unnatural union shall be severed—so these societies, would not if they could, concur. The principle that races are unequal, would have been destructive to the form of pure democracy at the North. The principle that all men are equal, would have been destructive of Slavery at the South. Each required the element suited to its social nature. Each must strive to make the government expressive of its social nature. The natural expansion of the one, must become encroachment on the other; and so the contest was inevitable. Seward and Lincoln, in theory at least, whatever be their aim, are right. I realized the fact, and so declared the contest irrepressible years before either ventured to advance that proposition."

* * * * *

"The officers of the State are slave-owners, and the representatives of slave-owners. In their public acts they exhibit the consciousness of a superior position. Without unusual individual ability, they exhibit the elevation of tone and composure of public sentiment proper to a master class. There is no appeal to the mass, for there is no mass to appeal to. There are no demagogues, for there is no populace to breed them. Judges

are not forced upon the stump; governors are not dragged before the people; and when there is cause to act upon the fortunes of our social institutions, there is perhaps, an unusual readiness to meet it." * * *

"With that perfect economy of resources, that just application of power, that concentration of forces, that security of order which results to Slavery from the permanent direction of its best intelligence, there is no other form of human labor that can stand against it, and it will build for itself a home, and erect for itself, at some point within the present limits of the Southern States, a structure of imperial power and grandeur—a glorious confederacy of States that will stand aloft and serene for ages amid the anarchy of democracies that will reel around it."

Here we have the calm, philosophical reasoning of cool-headed, calculating statesmen, wherein they dispose of human beings, with all their immortal powers and interests, as if they were no other than herds of unreasoning brutes. "*Equals* have rights," say they, "*unequals*" have no rights, except such as the "master race" may allow. Mr. Stephens only *designates* "negroes" as the "race" to be *disfranchised*, *owned*, and *disposed* of by the "master class."

"*De Bow's New Orleans Review*" says: "The right to govern resides in a very small minority; the duty to obey, is inherent in the great mass of mankind."

Mr. Spratt, with a candor surpassing prudence, perhaps, declares, that "the mass," the "populace," "the people," are to be "owned," "disfranchised," and put down as "ballast to the ship of state." And he plainly tells those Northern doughfaces who have so long clung to the skirts of the slave power, and denounced every man as a traitor who has dared to say that freedom and slavery could not live together in peaceful union, that such a union is impossible in the very nature of things,—as every-body, not a blind worshiper of Southern aristocracy, knew before. The North, he tells, them, is a Democracy; the South, an Aristocracy: and these two can never live in peace under one government. Both will strive to make the government represent its ideas, and serve its purposes. And as "no man can serve two masters," so no government can serve two such opposing principles. Whichever prospers, prospers at the expense of the other. If Aristocracy is strengthened, Democracy is weakened and ultimately destroyed. If Democracy is strengthened, then Aristocracy goes down before it. He declared the conflict between the two "irrepressible" years ago.

Although this sort of testimony might be multiplied indefinitely, we forbear, as enough has been presented to prove beyond cavil that the movers and leaders in this Rebellion have but one fell purpose, to establish a *dismal* and devilish DESPOTISM on the ruins of our American LIBERTIES.

They are not oppressed subjects rebelling against the tyrannical usurpations of a wicked government: for they have again and again confessed that the only ground of their Rebellion is, that the government is not despotic and tyrannical enough to suit them.

Had the government continued wicked enough, and could they have used it for the purpose of robbing all laboring men, white as well as black, of every right which God ever gave them, and established themselves as the permanent and unquestioned lords and masters of this continent, they never would have made this insurrection.

They have rebelled against our government for the sole reason that it is too good for them. And here we have at last, in our own beloved country, a parallel to that insurrection in Heaven so graphically described by Milton. And in this case, as in that,

“ Devil with devil damned firm concord holds ”

for the accomplishment of their infernal aims, which are to “ *subdue* ” and “ *crush out* ” the *Liberties of the people, North and South, and convert the whole nation into one grand slave-holding despotism, which shall grind the masses under its lordly and imperious heel.*

There is no middle ground, and no other issue involved in this contest.

“ Choose ye, this day, whom ye will serve.”





